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Senate

The Senate met at 12 noon and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Today's prayer will be offered by our guest chaplain, the Venerable Norman H.V. Elliott, Archdeacon of South-Central Alaska, Episcopal Diocese of Alaska, Anchorage, AK. He is the guest of Senator TED STEVENS. We appreciate having him with us.

PRAYER

The Venerable Norman H.V. Elliott offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, in whom our Nation puts its trust, we give You humble and heartfelt thanks for the many blessings You have most graciously bestowed upon us. We especially give thanks for the men and women who had the zeal and courage to oppose oppression and to form a nation dedicated to obtaining and maintaining the ideals of freedom, security, and justice for all its people.

Help us, we pray, to gladly accept with the same zeal and courage the heavy burden You have laid upon us in our time to secure freedom from oppression for all people and to continue to strive for peace among all nations.

Guide the deliberations and decisions of the men and women called to the high office and grave responsibility of Senator and support them as they take up this burden and faithfully seek to serve You and this Nation.

We ask this in Your holy name. Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The able Senator from Kansas is recognized.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. President, I thank the Chair.

SCHEDULE

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. President, today the Senate will be in a period of morn-

ing business until 4 p.m. this afternoon. The first 2 hours have been reserved for general statements, with time controlled by Senators NICKLES and DURBIN. The remaining 2 hours are equally divided between the majority and minority leaders, with the understanding that the time will be used for statements in relation to the situation in Kosovo.

Following morning business, the Senate will resume consideration of the supplemental appropriations bill. The majority leader has announced there will be no rollcall votes during today's session. However, Members are encouraged to come to the floor to offer and debate amendments today to the supplemental bill with any votes ordered postponed until tomorrow.

Members are reminded that a cloture petition was filed on Friday to the Lott second-degree amendment relating to Kosovo, with that vote occurring at 2:15 p.m. on Tuesday.

I thank my colleagues for their attention and yield the floor.

Mr. STEVENS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROBERTS). The able Senator from Alaska.

GUEST CHAPLAIN

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I give my thanks to Dr. Ogilvie, our Senate Chaplain, for arranging the visit of my good friend, Father Norm Elliott. He was the pastor of the All Saints Episcopal Church in Anchorage and has been a close personal friend since the 1950s. We were both, at that time, residents of Fairbanks, AK.

In 1980, our guest chaplain officiated at my marriage when Catherine and I were married. He has also officiated at the wedding of my daughter Susan, my son Ted and my son Ben. In addition to that, he has christened my daughter Lilly and my granddaughters and my grandson John.

He has been more than a close friend. He also performed the memorial serv-

ice for my first wife Ann and assisted at the dedication of the Ann Stevens Red Cross Building in Anchorage.

Father Elliott was born in England and came to Detroit as a child. He came to Alaska in 1951 at a time when our church considered service in Alaska as overseas duty. For half a century, he has ministered to the people of our State. He has spent time in many small towns and villages in Alaska, such as Nenana, Eagle, Venetie, Beaver and Point Hope, just to name a few. In 1980, at my request, he was appointed to serve on the Commission of Alaska Natives. Members of that Commission were appointed by President Bush and Alaska's Gov. Wally Hickel. Father Elliott and members of that Commission spent 3 years traveling through Alaska to help our native people identify solutions to unique problems they face.

Norm is also chaplain of the Port of Anchorage, and he is the Civilian Episcopalian Chaplain for our Armed Forces in Alaska.

He is truly a dedicated man, dedicated to the word of God and to helping others. I know that some, such as our distinguished President pro tempore, would recall that Father Elliott visited us once before when he gave the opening prayer in 1981.

I am delighted that a cherished personal friend and advisor has been able to visit us today. Again, I thank my good friend, the Chaplain of the Senate, for arranging that.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of morning business not to extend beyond the hour

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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of 4 p.m. Under the previous order, the time until 1:00 shall be in the control of the Senator from Oklahoma, Mr. NICKLES, or his designee.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GREGG). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. President, acting as Senator NICKLES' designee, I ask unanimous consent to proceed to speak about Kosovo for up to 30 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator is recognized.

KOSOVO

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. President, the American people should realize and understand that in his press conference just 2 days ago, President Clinton talked about the justification for United States-led airstrikes against Serbian troops in Kosovo and that today we are apparently within hours—within hours—of going to war. He acknowledged that our U.S. pilots would be put at risk. And last week, the Pentagon's top military commanders also warned those of us on the Senate Armed Services Committee that there could be U.S. casualties if NATO launches airstrikes in an effort to pressure President Milosevic to accept the peace agreement that has been drafted by the U.S. and its allies and apparently signed by the Kosovar Albanians.

General Michael Ryan, the Air Force Chief of Staff, said this:

There is a distinct possibility we will lose aircraft in trying to penetrate those defenses.

Our Marine Corps Commandant Charles Krulak said:

It is going to be tremendously dangerous. Serbian air defenses are mobile, the terrain is very tough and the weather cannot be underestimated.

General Krulak also said there were some bottom-line questions that still need to be answered: What is the end game? What happens if the Serbs do not come to the table after the first airstrike? How long will the strikes go on? Will our allies stay with us?

General Dennis Reimer, the Army Chief of Staff, also discussed the probability—and I emphasize the word "probability"—of sending 4,000 U.S. troops as part of the NATO peacekeeping force. He said:

The current commitment on the ground remains a still-elusive peacekeeping argument. However, our troops earmarked for that are prepared.

General Reimer agreed with the chairman of the committee, Senator JOHN WARNER, who warned of the massing of Serbian troops on the border of

Kosovo preparing for extensive ground operations.

Mr. President, my colleagues and the American public should understand, notwithstanding yet another round of last-minute diplomatic efforts by the administration's special envoy and the architect of U.S. policy in the Balkans, Richard Holbrooke, who is meeting with Mr. Milosevic as of today, the United States is preparing to go to war against the sovereign country of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and this air attack is very likely to be followed by U.S. ground troops.

As former Senator Bob Dole said on "Meet the Press" yesterday, it is time for the U.S. to fish or cut bait in the Balkans.

Compounding the situation is the fact that the Russian Prime Minister, Mr. Primakov, a staunch opponent of airstrikes and an ally of Milosevic, will be in Washington tomorrow, and I think his visit really presents a unique problem. An attack during Primakov's visit would certainly not help repair frayed U.S. and Russian relations. However, he is not due to leave until Friday. In a real paradox, by meeting with Mr. Primakov this week and delaying the attack, the administration may well give Mr. Milosevic additional time to launch an offensive, an offensive, by the way, which is also happening now.

General Wesley Clark, the NATO commander, has warned time and again that if no accord is reached, the Serb forces will resume fighting on a very large scale, and that is happening.

As the debate showed in the House of Representatives several weeks ago, and as the debate also continues in this body as of today and tomorrow, many in the Congress are concerned and frustrated and torn. Some support airstrikes and some do not. Some support ground troops; more do not. But we all agree, I think, that the Congress and the American people certainly deserve a better explanation of the administration's policy in the Balkans.

It is not that we have not asked the administration for clarification. Last July, I offered an amendment to the defense appropriations bill that required the President to come before the American people and the Congress before he committed the U.S. to a military involvement in Kosovo. The amendment was not prejudicial. It simply required the President to make the case as to why intervention in Kosovo was in our vital national security interest.

The language contained in section 8115 of Public Law 105-262—and it is the law of the land—unambiguously states that none of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available under the act may be obligated or expended for any additional deployment of the Armed Forces of the United States unless and until the President, in consultation with the leadership of the Congress, transmits to Congress a report that includes the following:

No. 1: certification that the presence of those forces to be deployed is necessary to the national security interests of the United States;

No. 2: the reasons why the deployment is in the national security interest;

No. 3: the number of military personnel to be deployed;

No. 4: the mission and objectives of forces to be deployed;

No. 5: the expected time schedule for accomplishing the objectives of the deployment;

No. 6: the exit strategy;

No. 7: the costs;

And lastly,

No. 8: the anticipated effects on the morale, the retention and the effectiveness of United States forces.

Mr. President, although our United States pilots are about to take part in an air attack that will put them in harm's way, to be followed by some 4,000 ground troops, that report—that report—required by law—has not been submitted to the Congress.

Last week, in the briefing that was conducted by Secretary of State Albright, National Security Council Chairman Berger, and Secretary of Defense Cohen, I again asked if the report would be forthcoming. I asked if the latest briefing—requested, by the way, by our Majority Leader LOTT—served in lieu of the report. The response of Mr. Berger was unclear to me, but in past conversations in previous briefings he said the administration should and could answer all the questions involved, and that the report would be made "at the appropriate time."

With the attack imminent, it would seem now is the appropriate time. As a matter of fact, with all due respect to the administration, submitting such a report would not be difficult and it would be helpful. If the administration thinks—and they apparently think—that this is the case, that threats of military action may alter the behavior of the Serbs, of Milosevic, what clearer signal of intent to forcibly stop the violence against the Albanians than the President of the United States laying out the issues to Congress and the American people?

Perhaps we can do the administration a favor today. In answering these questions, required by public law, let us simply take public statements from the President and his Cabinet officers, as well as statements made in briefings to the Congress that have been reported in the public press.

As a Member of both the Senate Armed Services and Intelligence Committees, I want to emphasize there should not and cannot be any disclosure of military details of any proposed action, the timing of the action or the types or selection of various weapon platforms.

Let's take the reporting requirements—1, 2, and then 4. They ask the President to describe why deploying to Kosovo is in the national security interest of the United States as well as